

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAJ-01 /073 W

----- 076193

R 201151Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6549

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION GERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 11396

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, XG

SUBJECT: ZARODOV RETURNS TO PRAVDA

REF: 75 MOSCOW 11235

1. SUMMARY. K. I. ZARODOV REAPPEARS IN PRAVDA JULY 17 IN A
REVIEW OF HIS 1975 BOOK ON RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS AND OUR TIME

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BY SENIOR ACADEMICIAN E.M. ZHUKOV. THE REVIEW GIVES PASSING

CONFIRMATION TO ZARODOV'S VIEWS ON THE ISSUES WHICH MADE HIM FAMOUS LAST YEAR -- TELESOPING THE PHASES OF REVOLUTION, AND CP PURITY -- AND CAREFULLY BALANCED AND QUALIFIED JUDGMENTS ON REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AND THE CURRENT RELEVANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION. ZHUKOV'S SENIORITY AND THE TIMING, JUST AFTER BERLIN, LEND SOME WEIGHT TO THE ARTICLE, BUT WITHOUT HAVING READ THE BOOK IT IS DIFFICULT TO VENTURE A JUDGMENT ON HOW MUCH WEIGHT IT DESERVES. END SUMMARY.

2. PRAVDA JULY 17 CARRIES SHORT BUT PUNGENT REVIEW BY ACADEMICIAN E. ZHUKOV OF K.I. ZARODOV'S BOOK "THREE REVOLUTIONS IN RUSSIA AND OUR TIMES" PUBLISHED IN 1975.

3. REVIEW DEALS BRIEFLY WITH THE TWO MAIN ISSUES ZARODOV ADDRESSED IN HIS AUGUST 6, 1975, PRAVDA ARTICLE ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS -- THE RELATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST PHASES OF THE REVOLUTION, AND THE ROLE OF "MARXIST" PARTIES -- BUT GIVES MORE ATTENTION TO TWO ISSUES NOT TREATED IN THAT ARTICLE: REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE, AND THE RELEVANCE OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE IN CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS.

4. ON THE "OLD" ISSUES, ZHUKOV WRITES THAT THE BOOK CONTAINS "SHINING CONFIRMATION OF THE LENINIST TEACHING, CONFIRMED BY PRACTICE, ON THE GROWING TOGETHER (PERERASTANIYE) OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS," AND "GIVES SPECIAL ATTENTION" TO THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "FIGHTING AVANTGARDE -- THE MARXIST PARTY" IN THE REVOLUTION.

5. TREATMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE IS MORE QUALIFIED. IN ZHUKOV'S VERSION, ZARODOV SPENT SOME TIME WORRYING ABOUT THE REVELANCE OF OCTOBER IN THE LIGHT OF CHILE, AND CAME DOWN AGAINST THE THESIS THAT CHILE PROVES VIOLENCE IS NECESSARY: "CHILE BY NO MEANS CANCELLED OUT THE COMMUNISTS' CONCLUSION ON THE POSSIBLITY OF DIVERSE PATHS FOR THE REVOLUTION, INCLUDING THE PEACEFUL ONE, IF THE NECESSARY PRECONDITIONS EXIST FOR IT." THE MAOISTS ARE ALSO WRONG TO REJECT PARLIAMENTARISM AND ABSOLUTIZE ARMED FORCE. HOWEVER, THERE ARE ALSO CAVEATS: REVOLUTION SHOULD ALSO KNOW HOW TO DEFEND ITSELF, IT IS "POWERFULLY RECALLED", AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EQUATE THE PEACEFUL PATH TO SOCIALISM
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WITH SOME SUPERIOR, "PARLIAMENTARY" OR "PURELY CONSTITUTIONAL" WAY. LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIKS HAD THE RIGHT APPROACH: "IN THE FIRST DAYS OF PROLETARIAN POWER (THEY) DID EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO REDUCE ACTS OF FORCE, ESPECIALLY ARMED, TO A MINIMUM."

6. SIMILARLY, ZHUKOV'S ACCOUNT OF ZARODOV IS BALANCED ON THE RELEVANCE OF OCTOBER. ON THE ONE HAND, THE BOOK IS

AGAINST "A PURELY MECHANICAL USE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION'S EXPERIENCE," SINCE DIFFERENT CONDITIONS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES CALL FORTH "UNREPEATABLE" CREATIVITY BY THE MASSES. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS FOR "THE UNIVERSAL LAWS OF REVOLUTION" FIRST EXEMPLIFIED BY THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER. THE CONCLUSION IS THAT THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IS SPREADING AND BECOMING MORE COMPLICATED, BUT THAT THE NEED FOR "SCRUPULOUS STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT'S GREAT EXPERIENCE IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE" IS DEMONSTRATED "WITH NEW FORCE."

7. COMMENT. PENDING STUDY OF THE BOOK, WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE ON BOOKSTANDS FOR SOME MONTHS, IT SHOULD BE REMARKED THAT NOTHING IN THE REVIEW GOES OUTSIDE THE BOUNDS OF PERMISSIBLE DEBATE ON THESE QUESTIONS, AS DEFINED IN THE MEDIA LAST YEAR. THE ZARODOV THESES OF 1975 ARE "CONFIRMED" IN PASSING, AND THE THESES OF 1976, IN ZHUKOV'S RENDERING, ARE PRUDENT AND AMBIGUOUS. BUT SOME WEIGHT SHOULD CLEARLY BE ATTACHED TO THE REVIEW, GIVEN ZHUKOV'S STATUS (CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY IN 1946, FULL MEMBER SINCE 1958), THE FACT THAT THE ISSUES ARE UPDATED (PORTUGAL, TELESOPING REVOLUTIONARY PHASES AND CP PURITY GIVE WAY TO REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AND SOVIET EXPERIENCE) TO REFLECT INTRA-COMMUNIST DEBATE OVER THE PAST YEAR, AND THE FACT THAT ZARODOV REAPPEARS ON THE MORROW OF BERLIN, JUST AS HE APPEARED IN 1975 ON MORNING AFTER HELSINKI, TO GRAB HOT IRONS IN PRAVDA. MATLOCK

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HEGEMONY, COMMUNISTS, COMMUNIST DOCTRINE, POLITICAL PARTIES, BOOKS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW11396
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760279-0146
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760741/aaaabjqa.tel
Line Count: 141
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 11235
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ZARODOV RETURNS TO PRAVDA
TAGS: PFOR, UR, XG, PRAVDA, (ZARODOV, K I), (ZHUKOV, E M)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006